



CEPPS/NDI Quarterly Report: April 1 to June 30, 2005

**BOLIVIA: POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT
USAID Associate Cooperative Agreement No. 511-A-00-04-00016-00,
under the Leader Cooperative Agreement No. DGC-A-00-01-00004-00**

Project dates: November 6, 2003, to September 30, 2005

I. SUMMARY

Bolivia was once considered one of the most stable democracies in the Andes and a paragon of economic reform. Despite the implementation of major socio-economic reforms, economic disparity and ethnic and regional conflict have led to recent political turmoil. In November 2003, USAID awarded the National Democratic Institute a cooperative agreement to fulfill the following objectives: provide technical assistance for parties to comply with the 1999 Political Party Law; help parties improve candidate recruitment and selection practices; work with parties to improve relations with civil society; and strengthen party communication strategies and mechanisms to ensure that party proposals reflect citizen demands.

A rollback in the government's fuel subsidy and dissatisfaction with international management of local water distribution triggered renewed protests in January 2005. Congress promulgated a controversial hydrocarbon law that left many Bolivian citizens feeling that their participation in the national hydrocarbon referendum had been futile and many international investors contemplating exit strategies from Bolivia. By May, protestors and road blockades had paralyzed La Paz and four other departments, restricting transportation and the delivery of supplies and fuel. Protestors' demands grew to include the immediate nationalization of the hydrocarbon industry, a national referendum for regional autonomy (driven by Santa Cruz interests and opposed by La Paz protestors) and general presidential and congressional elections, among others. On June 6, President Mesa tendered his resignation, which Congress accepted for the second time in four months.

Succumbing to citizen demands, the next two constitutional presidential successors resigned. The national presidency passed to Supreme Court President Eduardo Rodriguez, whose principal mandate is to convene new elections for president and vice-president. Congress will have to determine if congressional elections will be held in addition to presidential and vice-presidential elections, which positions will be contested, term lengths and election dates.

From April 1 to June 30, 2005, the National Democratic Institute (NDI or the Institute) conducted the following activities to help parties engage in party strengthening practices to improve outreach, communication, transparency, the political participation of underrepresented sectors and provide training for municipal elected officials. Program activities and results for this quarter included:

Party Strengthening Activities

- Through two multi-party events with the Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata Cristiana*, PDC) and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*, MIR), NDI facilitated dialogue between political party and citizen group members and civil society organizations. The events provided space for parties to present their platforms and for participants to engage in constructive dialogue on two polemic issues of national importance: regional autonomy and the constituent assembly process.
- Nearly 600 participants in three department capitals participated in ethics and transparency workshops organized in collaboration with USAID, the Bolivian National Electoral Council (*Corte Nacional Electoral*, CNE), the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and the Organization of American States (OAS). The accounting reconciliation software and other resources provided participants with practical tools and skills for improving financial transparency and reducing public doubt regarding party ethics.
- Thirteen political activists and NDI training team members participated in two weekly news and current events programs produced by the Bolivarian University of El Alto and the Saint Tomas Aquinas University where they provided positive examples of constructive political participation through mass media outlets.

Political Participation of Underrepresented Sectors

- NDI continued the third phase of the Win with Women national leadership training school with municipal council women to increase their effectiveness as council members and strengthen their chances of reelection. NDI trainers conducted eight workshops on political and technical municipal management themes in Oruro, Santa Cruz, Potosí, Pando, Bení and Cochabamba with nearly 300 elected primary and secondary council women.
- Seven national political parties, one citizen group and three civil society organizations signed in support of NDI's global initiative to promote women's political participation worldwide, endorsing a list of practical recommendations for parties to increase women's meaningful involvement within political parties.

Escalated protests and road blockades in May and June restricted mobility within the country, and increasingly radical protestor demands contributed to safety concerns for local staff and program participants. As a result, NDI postponed several activities previously scheduled. Depending on the political context and security in the next quarter, NDI plans to conduct a youth leadership seminar, to continue working with parties on implementing best practices and to conclude the third phase of the women's leadership school.

II. BACKGROUND

Bolivia was once considered one of the most stable democracies in the Andes and a paragon of economic reform. Despite the implementation of major socio-economic reforms, economic disparity, ethnic and regional conflict and slow progress toward political inclusion have created anti-party and anti-political sentiments that threaten to weaken Bolivian democracy. President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada resigned in October 2003 amid violent protests over the administration's plan to export natural gas through Chile. Sánchez de Lozada was succeeded by his vice president, Carlos Mesa. In response to the demands of an opposition comprised mainly of indigenous groups and poorer socioeconomic classes, Mesa drafted the Agenda of October, which included a July 2004 national referendum on the export of gas and plans to convene a constituent assembly. However, Mesa's Agenda was unable to alleviate regional, ethnic and socio-political antagonism, which continues to plague the country.

A rollback in the government's fuel subsidy and dissatisfaction with international management of local water distribution triggered renewed protests in January 2005. Congress promulgated a controversial hydrocarbon law that left many Bolivian citizens feeling that their participation in the national hydrocarbon referendum had been futile and many international investors contemplating exit strategies from Bolivia. By May, protestors and road blockades had paralyzed La Paz and four other departments, restricting transportation and the delivery of supplies and fuel. Protestor demands grew to include the immediate nationalization of the hydrocarbon industry, a national referendum for regional autonomy (driven by Santa Cruz interests and opposed by La Paz protestors) and general presidential and congressional elections, among others.

On June 6, President Mesa tendered his resignation for the second time in four months. Protestors congregated at the national congress in La Paz to protest the constitutionally designated successors taking power, Senate President Hormando Vaca Díez (MIR) and then Chamber of Deputies President Mario Cossío (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, MNR). After an unsuccessful effort to cobble together a coalition of support among traditional political parties, Vaca Díez convened an extraordinary congressional session in Sucre where Congress accepted Mesa's resignation and both he and Cossío refused the presidency. Constitutionally, the presidency then passed to Supreme Court President Eduardo Rodríguez. As designated in Article 93 of the Bolivian constitution, President Rodríguez must convene "general elections." Congress will have to pass interpretative legislation of Article 93 to define which positions will be contested, term lengths, and the date when elections will be held.

During his first days as national president, Rodríguez initiated a dialogue with protestors in El Alto and Santa Cruz to peacefully disperse protestors representing diverse sectors of the population, including: indigenous groups; small farmers and coca growers; labor unions, civic and business interests; and opposition political parties. While the mass mobilizations may have declined significantly, protestors are still demanding general elections for president, vice president and the national congress. The increasing social and political polarization threatens to dominate the major electoral processes scheduled for 2005.

Against this backdrop of highly visible citizen dissatisfaction, the uncertainty of pending electoral processes to elect a new national president and vice president, department prefects, and a new national legislature run the risk of high abstention levels, if not increased protestor pressure or violence. As indicated in the *Correo de Sur* article (Appendix A), voter apathy seems already apparent as prefect elections scheduled for August draw near. In addition to these elections, Bolivian voters will also be called to vote in a national referendum on regional autonomy. Constituent assembly member selection may also occur in 2005 or 2006.

With the great number of electoral processes – many of them new or as yet undefined – Bolivian parties are struggling to define and promote credible platforms to dispel citizen dissatisfaction with traditional political parties and skepticism toward policy reforms. Given the popular discontent, many parties are making efforts to implement internal reforms, although with limited financial resources. Despite parties' initial steps toward increased transparency, greater inclusion of women, youth, and indigenous members and the establishment of internal democratic practices, citizens have yet to feel the impact of these reform efforts. Vast sectors of the population remain underrepresented and excluded from party structures.

The present conditions highlight the need to rebuild healthy and responsive political parties that can effectively channel citizen demands, offer policy alternatives, and provide avenues for all Bolivians to engage in constructive political participation. NDI activities strive to promote democratic, transparent and representative practices within the political party system.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. Party Strengthening Activities

Political Party – Civil Society Dialogue

To facilitate constructive dialogue between political parties and civil society, NDI has been hosting a series of panel discussions on topics proposed by parties who have representation at the national level. Each party developed an agenda based on an issue they deemed of national interest. NDI worked with the parties to refine the agenda and to incorporate the three themes of the NDI Triangle of Party Best Practices: internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new sectors.¹

On April 20, the MIR facilitated a discussion on regional autonomy based on a paper authored by party ideologist Hugo Ernst. Despite the proximity of prefect elections scheduled for August 12, 2005, few parties have expressed a stand on this complex issue. The 39 participants included representatives of the political parties Movement Without Fear (*Movimiento Sin Miedo*, MSM), PDC, Civic Solidarity Union (*Unidad Cívica Solidaridad*, UCS), Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (*Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti*, MIP), Plan Progress (*Plan Progreso*, PP), and the MNR; citizen group Alliance Century XXI (now officially

¹Based on global work with political parties, NDI has identified best practices that parties adopt to consistently improve their performance in three fundamental areas: internal democracy, transparency and outreach to new sectors. NDI has developed a series of workbooks based on these best practices for use by party trainers to help parties examine and improve current organizational practices and institute new practices as needed.

supported by former President Tuto Quiroga); the US Embassy; National Women's Political Forum (*Foro Político Nacional de Mujeres, FPNM*); Caritas Bolivia (an international development organization); and the Ministry of Government. Participants concluded that the central government has not been able to effectively administer public funds, and future decentralization must ensure governability. In addition, participants agreed that multiethnic society requires a process of consensus building to create a more equitable society.



Political party and civil society representatives discuss regional autonomy in break out groups at the April 20 event conducted with the MIR.

On April 28, NDI and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation co-hosted a political party – civil society dialogue facilitated by the *Partido Demócrata Cristiana* (PDC) in Sucre. PDC President Jorge Suarez opened the event with a discussion of the three party reform themes of the NDI Triangle of Best Party Practices. Gabriel Peláez, coordinator of the Masters program of Constitutional Law at the Simon Bolivar Andean University, discussed referendum legislation and the pending

legislation required for August prefect elections. Three panelists offered comments on the constituent assembly, including NDI Resident Director Francisco Herrero, Magistrate of the Constitutional Court José Antonio Rivera and constitutional specialist Hugo Perez Delgadillo. Participants represented political parties PDC, Democratic Action Party (*Acción Democrática Nacionalista*, ADN), MIR, MNR, Movement Toward Socialism (*Movimiento hacia Socialismo*, MAS), Free Bolivia Movement (*Movimiento Bolivia Libre*, MBL), National Unity (*Unidad Nacional*, UN) and MSM and recently formed youth group Foundation for the Strengthening of Bolivian Democracy (*Fundación para el fortalecimiento de la democracia Boliviana*, FODEBOL).

Ethics and Transparency

Through training with the NDI Triangle of Party Best Practices and consultations with technical experts NDI has actively worked to provide program participants with resources for effective public administration and transparent management of public funds. The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) has developed a software accountability system for political parties to reconcile spending of state and private funds for 12 countries. The software – Information System for the Management of Party Funds (*Sistema Informático de Manejo del Patrimonio Partidario*, SIMAPA) – was first introduced in Bolivia. Working with Pablo Galarce of IFES, NDI Resident Director Francisco Herrero coordinated a series of three events in collaboration with Jorge Valladares of IDEA International and Jenny Fernández, director of inspection of the National



The series of seminars on finances and transparency provided participants with practical tools and resources to rebuild citizen confidence in democratic institutions.

Electoral Court (*Consejo Nacional Electoral*, CNE). Each event included the following:

- A presentation of SIMAPA software by Ms. Fernandez and other CNE spokespeople.
- A presentation of two books on political financing, the “Manual of Financing Political Activity” produced by USAID and translated by the OAS, and “The Norms to Good Practices: the challenge of political financing in Latin America” produced by the OAS and IDEA International.

The events took place in three departmental capital cities: Sucre² (May 16); Santa Cruz (May 18) and Cochabamba (May 19). Attendance at each of the events reached approximately 200 participants including members of political institutions, the media and departmental electoral courts. Party leaders and electoral court officials participated, including President of the Santa Cruz Electoral Court Mario Orlando Parada and President of the Cochabamba Electoral Court Celia Quiroga. Their participation was an important demonstration of leaders’ concern for improved transparency among democratic institutions.

Political Party Mass Media Communication

Positive media coverage of politics and political parties is often overshadowed by negative press, and this imbalance in perspective can contribute to an equally imbalanced citizen perspective of political parties. Through NDI’s activities with political parties and groups in La Paz and El Alto, the Institute has established ties with local television channel 15 UNITEPC that is produced and financed by the Bolivarian University of El Alto (*Universidad Bolivariana de El Alto*). UNITEPC airs a weekly three-hour news and current events show called Reflections (*Reflejos*) and hosted by journalist Javier Ramos. Program guests highlight their political work and the skills gained from NDI activities. NDI has facilitated the participation of various political activists and members of the NDI training team including on the following occasions:

- April 4 – NDI Project Coordinator Alejandra Basaure attended the program with Francisco Cordero, National Coordinator for the Constituent Assembly and MSM party member. Cordero explained MSM’s constituent assembly project and NDI’s role in facilitating multiparty and cross-sector dialogue about the assembly process.
- April 11 – Political scientists and NDI consultants Eddy Kushida and Edgar Rivero discussed the second phase of NDI’s Winning with Women leadership school. Kushida and Rivero also elaborated on their experience as facilitators of a multi-party train-the-trainer session using the NDI Triangle of Best Party Practices in February. NDI Project Coordinator Alejandra Basaure accompanied the consultants to explain how the Triangle can be used by political parties to facilitate dialogue and provide practical tools for party reform.
- April 18 – Sociologist, municipal administration expert and member of the NDI training network Eduardo Pinedo discussed municipal financial accountability and general budgeting best practices.

² See Appendix A for May 17, 2005 *Correo del Sur* article about the event in Sucre and voter registration efforts surrounding the prefect elections scheduled for August 12, 2005.

- April 25 – Jorge Sensano of ADN discussed his party’s experience with multi-party events on party reform initiatives and political party – civil society dialogue through activities with NDI.
- May 9 – PDC Executive Secretary Jorge Suarez discussed the NDI Triangle and the importance of political parties becoming more democratic, transparent and open to underrepresented sectors.
- May 16 – NDI attended the program with citizen group member Teofilo Zarate (M-22) who discussed his participation in the series of NDI seminars called “Leadership and a Critical Analysis of the Bolivian Reality.” MNR youth member Carmen Vasquez discussed attitudes and challenges in political party renewal from a youth perspective. NDI collaborator Pedro Lima discussed the role of principles and values for members of the future constituent assembly.

NDI has also established ties with the local television channel 51, produced by the Saint Thomas Aquinas University. The channel airs a weekly current events program hosted by journalist Remy Silvestre. NDI facilitated the participation of the following participants:

- April 25 – 2003 NDI Leadership Program participant and MNR party member Douglas Ardiles appeared on the program to discuss activities he is conducting to engage citizens in the constituent assembly process and to facilitate improved relations between political parties and civil society.³
- May 10 – NDI Bolivia staff appeared on the program to discuss the constituent assembly process and the different framework models that exist for this process, drawing on examples from Colombia (1991), Peru (1992), Ecuador (1998) and Venezuela (1999).
- May 17 – NDI attended the show to discuss the Institute’s activities to facilitate constructive dialogue about the constituent assembly.
- May 24 – NDI facilitated Rosario Paz Ballivian’s appearance on the program. Representing the *Foro Político Nacional de Mujeres* (FPNM), Ballivian discussed the Forum’s work with women political candidates through NDI’s Winning with Women leadership school.
- May 31 – Douglas Ardiles presented results from NDI’s May 29 activity that invited Bolivian citizens to depict positive images of Bolivia’s future and the constituent assembly process. Some of the images created at the event were featured on the program.

³ Ardiles is conducting a series of eleven seminars on “Leadership and a Critical Analysis of the Bolivian Reality,” to create space for dialogue between political parties and civil society groups in order to reduce current levels of polarization and foster consensus building. NDI is supporting Ardiles’ efforts through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) funded Political Leadership Program, which supports youth political participation. Ardiles appeared on Silvestre’s program on April 25 and May 31.

B. Political Participation of Underrepresented Sectors

Women's Political Participation

NDI has designed and implemented a nationwide women's leadership training school, Winning with Women. To encourage political party and citizen group compliance with women's candidacy quotas and the political participation of underrepresented sectors, NDI Bolivia prepared more than 1,000 women including rural residents, youth and indigenous women in each of the country's nine departments for potential candidacy preceding December 2004 municipal elections. The first two phases of Winning with Women included leadership and strategic planning skills for active political women leaders, and campaign strategy and basic municipal governance skills for candidates in the municipal elections. NDI collaborated with the Women's Political Forum and the Professional Association of Political Scientists (*Asociación de Politólogos*) to conduct the workshops and to develop training materials.

The third phase of one-day workshops will include both primary and substitute municipal council women in the nine national departments. This third workshop focuses on several themes important to their success as elected officials: 1) message development and delivery; 2) political negotiation and conflict prevention and resolution; and 3) municipal financial management, including the revision of a municipal budget (expenses, payments and balance), the reconciliation of budget figures according to government oversight rules and incorporating citizen needs into the municipal budget. Gender equity in the development of public policies is an overarching theme that participants consider during both political and financial training modules. NDI identified participants in collaboration with the national Association of Women Councilors (*Asociación de Consejales de Bolivia*, ACOBOL).⁴

On April 1, 70 women participated in the Oruro workshop, representing the political parties ADN, MSM, MAS, MNR, PP, MBL, MIR. Members of citizen groups also participated from the New Citizen Alternative (*Nueva Alternativa Ciudadana*), Occidental Council of Ayllus (*Concejo Occidental de Ayllus Jacha Carangas*), Integrated Force of Countrymen (*Fuerza Integración Campesina*), Corque Marka for Progress (*Corque Marka al Progreso*) and *Belén de Andamarca*. Marina Choque (MIR), President of the Oruro chapter of ACOBOL, and Norma Orgáz collaborated with NDI to identify participants and organize the event. ACOBOL technical advisor in La Paz, Felicidad Guarachi, facilitated the Oruro training on municipal financial management and budgeting. NDI Project Coordinator Alejandra Basaure facilitated the sessions on message development and political negotiation. Guillermo Lucama (UN) also spoke during the workshop, sharing his experience as current mayor of Hualyillamarca.

The April 2 seminar in Santa Cruz included 49 people representing the political parties MIR, MNR, MAS, MSM and ADN. Citizen group Alliance of the 21st Century (*Alianza Siglo XXI*) and indigenous group Organization of Chiquitana (*Organización Indígena Chiquitana*) also participated. Sociologist and municipal administration expert Eduardo Pinedo facilitated the session on public administration and municipal finances.

⁴ See Appendix B for a table of third phase Winning with Women workshop dates, locations and participant numbers.

On May 5, 80 women participated in the Potosi workshop, representing the political parties MAS, MIR, UN, UCS, NFR, MNR, MBL, MIP, ADN, PP and MSM. Representatives of citizen group Social Alliance (*Alianza Social*), formed by Potosi mayor René Joaquino, also participated in the seminar. Seminar speakers included: Rosario Paz Ballivián (National Women's Political Forum), David Pinto (Agricultural Engineer and municipal administration and finance expert) and Viviana Zamora (NDI intern). In preparation for the workshop, David Pinto trained NDI Bolivia team members Jenny Benítez, Susana Bejarano and Viviana Zamora on municipal administration themes for the third phase of Winning with Women. Pinto has developed illustrated materials with basic information that will be useful for newly elected municipal council members or indigenous speakers and/or illiterate participants. Pinto's materials are based on resources developed through the USAID-funded Democratic Development and Citizen Participation Project No. 3 (*Desarrollo Democrático y Participación Ciudadana*, DDPC).

On May 12, 20 women participated in the Cobija, Pando workshop, representing the political parties MNR, ADN, MAS and MIR, and citizen groups Amazonic Movement for Renovation (*Movimiento Amazónico para la Renovación*, MAR) and Organic Social Power of the Amazon (*Poder Amazónico Social Orgánico*, PASO). Seminar speakers included: Silvia Sanchez (Women's Political Forum), David Pinto (municipal administration expert) and Susana Bejarano (NDI intern).⁵

On May 17, 15 women participated in the Trinidad, Bení workshop, representing political parties ADN, MIR, MNR and MIP. Representatives of citizen groups PASO and AVE (Local Autonomy) also participated. Workshop trainers included: Silvia Sanchez (Women's National Political Forum), David Pinto (municipal administration and finance expert), Susana Bejarano (NDI intern) and two ACOBOL-Bení technical experts.

On May 20, 62 women participated in the Cochabamba workshop representing the political parties MAS, NFR, MBL, MIR and UN and members of ADECO (Association of Councilwomen from Cochabamba). Workshop facilitators included: NDI Resident Director Francisco Herrero and David Pinto (municipal administration and finance expert). The Cochabamba chapter of ACOBOL actively supported this event and expressed their interest in continuing to work with NDI on similar topics.



A councilwoman participates at the Winning with Women workshop in Cochabamba.

Building on the Institute's ongoing efforts to promote increased women's political participation among Bolivian political parties and their leadership, NDI invited national party leaders and civil society groups to sign the Global Action Plan (GAP) of the Win

⁵ NDI Bolivia has two local interns at any given time who are current university students. The current interns have been trained with NDI's network of Winning with Women trainers and often co-facilitate training sessions for participants. NDI has found this to be an effective way to invest in local capacity and to engage young Bolivians in strengthening their domestic democratic institutions.

with Women Initiative.⁶ In addition to the more than 200 individual signatories at the October 2004 women's leadership conference, support from these groups provides institutional support of the GAP and offers space for individuals to advocate for practical reforms within their parties. Eight national political parties and three civil society groups signed in support of the GAP and the principles advocated.⁷

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Objective 1: Provide technical assistance regarding organizational strengthening, membership building and outreach skills to help parties comply with the changes required by the 1999 Political Party Law.

- Parties in three departmental capital cities gained tools to improve transparency and accountability to citizens. The events provided parties with practical steps and regional party transparency case-studies to improve citizen confidence in democratic institutions in Bolivia.
- Eight national political parties and three civil society groups became engaged in NDI's global Win with Women Initiative to help parties become more representative. Their support of the Initiative confirms institutional dedication to the need to strengthen women's participation within their party structures.

Objective 2: Improve candidate recruitment and the use of participatory and transparent mechanisms for the selection of candidates for national, municipal and internal party elections.

- NDI's Win with Women leadership school prepared 434 primary and substitute women council members in 8 departments for responsible and successful tenures on their respective municipal councils.
- Win with Women training for substitute women council members strengthened the skill sets that the primary-substitute councilmember teams have to offer their councils and their parties.

Objective 3: Improve party relations with civil society by assisting efforts of parties to better understand and interact with civil society organizations.

- Participants at the event organized with PDC engaged in constructive dialogue and the sharing of ideas with fellow parties and with civil society organizations on party reform issues and the constituent assembly, an important skill to practice and crucial precedent to set leading up to the constituent assembly process.
- Participants at the event organized with MIR shared ideas and identified common conclusions concerning the pending referendum on regional autonomy, an issue that has polarized the country along regional lines.

⁶ The Win with Women Initiative, launched in December 2003 by NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright, is a movement to promote women's political participation worldwide. The anchor of this initiative is the Global Action Plan: a document that outlines practical recommendations to help political parties broaden their appeal by becoming more inclusive and representative.

⁷ See Appendix C for GAP text and list of institutional signatories.

Objective 4: Strengthen party communication strategies and mechanisms to ensure that citizen demands are adequately interpreted and that parties present proposals more effectively.

- Through their appearances on local television programs, thirteen political activists and technical experts shared information on party reform efforts and strategies, effectively using mass media channels to communicate with citizens in the La Paz and El Alto areas.

V. EVALUATION

Escalated protests and road blockades in May and June prevented NDI from implementing activities previously scheduled. Restricted mobility within the country, fuel shortages, limited access to the international airport in El Alto and increasingly radical protestor demands contributed to safety concerns for local staff and program participants. The recent protests represented the continued ethnic, regional and economic conflicts that current political leaders have been unable to address. Vast sectors of the predominately indigenous citizenry in Bolivia continue to remain underrepresented by the current political system, and the frustration of these groups has fueled increasing reliance on street mobilizations and popular pressure tactics.

Despite the political unrest during this quarter, NDI was able to continue working with local elected women officials through its Win with Women leadership school. As with previous phases, working with elected primary and secondary council members allowed participants to work across party lines and provided an important space for women of rural and urban constituencies to develop common skills together. Indicative of demand for continuous party training and formation, four young MIR members (two men and two women) participated in the Cochabamba workshop despite not being council members. Their initiative to participate reflects the lack of regular training offered for party members and the demand for training on the basic skills covered in the women's leadership school. This phase of the school allowed for continued support of women's increased political participation, but also demonstrated the importance of ongoing training for party members to national party leaders.

Parties continue to struggle with low credibility among citizens as demonstrated by protestor resistance to Senate President Hormando Vaca Díez assuming the presidency. Contributing to the low levels of credibility of political parties is the fact that many parties have not provided citizens with clear and credible platforms on current issues of national interest. In an encouraging move to address this shortcoming, the NFR is now producing Force (*Fuerza*) magazine that includes articles on current events such as the hydrocarbon law, prefect elections, resolutions from a recent meeting of NFR's national civic committee and the constituent assembly. NDI has also worked with parties and political activists on improving message development and communication skills with program participants. Recognizing that political parties have limited public financing, NDI's methodologies emphasize practical and cost-effective tools for communicating with constituents: guests on the La Paz and El Alto local television news programs have been able to communicate effectively to constituents; parties have presented their platforms on various issues of national interest at NDI sponsored political party – civil society dialogue; party members have participated in media relations training with regional

communications experts; and NDI has worked with local radio stations to transmit presentations by party reform experts.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

NDI Bolivia is organizing a leadership seminar for youth to take place at Lake Titicaca in Bolivia. Due to political instability, this event has been postponed and will tentatively be held in July. Thirty young political activists will participate in this seminar. Participants will represent political parties, citizen groups, civil society groups and indigenous organizations, including the Afro-Bolivian population. NDI selected participants in consultation with the leaders of their respective organizations. Guest trainers will include: Kristen Sample of International IDEA who will discuss women's political participation; Mauricio Girauldo (*Justicialista* party, Argentina) who will discuss the NDI Triangle of Best Party Practices; Martha Cecilia Villada who will discuss her work with civic organizations through Partners of the Americas; Luis Luna of SUNY, who will discuss relations between political parties, parliament and civil society; and Guido Riveros, from the Foundation for a Multiparty Democracy of Bolivia (*Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria*, FBDM). A panel of national experts will also discuss the economic situation, political analysis and indigenous movements. Additional trainers will include Resident Director Francisco Herrero and NDI consultants Eddy Kushida, Edgar Rivero and Gustavo Cardoso.

NDI will also complete the third phase of the women's leadership school with a workshop in Tarija. Due to protests and limited mobility within the country, this workshop was postponed from June 10. In addition, NDI-recommended guests will continue to appear on the La Paz/El Alto television current events programs as the stations begin to broadcast following the May and June protests.

APPENDIX A
Sucre/CORREO DEL SUR
May 17, 2005

Voter registration reaches only 20% of previous projections

The amount of voters registered in the electoral census for prefect elections is only 20 percent of what was projected for the city of Sucre. The provinces of Chuquisaca produced similar results, although the Departmental Electoral Court (*Corte Departamental Electoral*, CDE) does not yet have final figures.

The President of the CDE, Celma Quiroga, reported that the number of registered voters in Sucre, which accounts for districts 1 and 2, reached 9,030, “which clearly demonstrates a certain apathy of the population regarding their civic duty in prefect elections,” she stated.

She recalled that previous estimates had predicted 45,000 registered voters, based on the 40,000 voters carried over from the previous municipal elections and a projection of 5,000 new registered voters.

These results reveal that only 20 percent of the projected number of registered voters is actually registered to vote in the upcoming prefect elections. “The preliminary reports that we have received from the provinces also show the same trend, with only 20% of expected registrations actually taking place,” she added.

The CDE stated that they still do not know exactly how many citizens reached 18 years of age since the last election but did not register with the electoral census, a figure that they will receive once their database is updated with new information.

At the same time, the President of the CDE stated said that within a week new data will be released by the Chuquisaca provinces and that the deadline for submitting the final information is not until that Friday.

In Sucre, 66 notaries were hired to register new and existing voters.

New system presented [*NDI Sucre event on transparency and ethics.*]

In order to make financial management more transparent among parties, citizen groups and indigenous towns, the Departmental Electoral Court (*Corte Departamental Electoral*, CDE) presented the accountability software Partisan Resource Management System for Political Parties, Citizen Groups and Indigenous Towns.

Six representatives from political parties and citizen groups were joined by invited authorities and press to the presentation that was held throughout the morning at the Glorieta Hotel.

“Our aim is transparency in how financial resources are managed by political parties and/or citizen groups such that anybody can access these records on the Internet and see how they are being spent,” Celma Quiroga announced, adding that this software will let people know the destination of money transferred from the State through the National General Treasury. In addition, representatives of the CDE arrived in Sucre along with an expert from USAID, who gave a presentation and explanation of the design and implementation of the system.

EN LAS DOS CIRCUNSCRIPCIONES DE SUCRE

Electores inscritos llegan sólo al 20% de lo previsto



El trabajo de las notarías en fin de semana.

La CDE presentó ayer un sistema para el manejo del patrimonio de partidos, agrupaciones y pueblos

Sucre/CORREO DEL SUR

La cantidad de ciudadanos inscritos al padrón electoral para la elección de prefectos apenas alcanzó el 20 por ciento de lo previsto en Sucre. Algo similar ocurrió en las provincias de Chuquisaca, aunque todavía la Corte Departamental Electoral (CDE) no cuenta con los datos finales.

La presidenta de la CDE, Celma Quiroga, informó que la cifra de inscritos en Sucre, que comprende las circunscripciones 1 y 2, llegó a 9.030, "lo cual denota a las claras cierta apatía de la población para poder cumplir con su deber ciudadano en la elección de prefectos", sostuvo.

Recordó que se estimaba una inscripción de 45.000 personas, tomando en cuenta que tras la última elección municipal quedaron depuradas 40.000 y se aguardaba el registro de unos 5.000 nuevos ciudadanos.

Esos resultados revelan que sólo el 20% del total estimado está habilitado para votar en las elecciones prefecturales. "Los informes preliminares que tenemos de las provincias también muestran exactamente la misma tendencia, es decir, un 20% de lo que se esperaba", añadió.

La CDE informó que resta por conocer con precisión la cantidad de ciudadanos que recién cumplieron los 18 años y nunca se inscribieron en el padrón electoral, dato que se obtendrá al realizar el traspaso informativo de los libros a la base de datos.

Por otro lado, su presidenta manifestó que dentro de una semana se conocerán mayores datos de las provincias chuquisaqueñas, tomando en cuenta que hasta el viernes llegarán los últimos libros del área rural.

En Sucre se habilitaron 66 notarías para registrar a los depurados y nuevos electores.

tratar a los depurados y nuevos electores.

Presentan novedoso sistema

Con el propósito de transparentar el manejo de recursos económicos dentro de partidos, agrupaciones y pueblos, la Corte Departamental Electoral presentó el Sistema de Manejo del Patrimonio Partidario de Partidos Políticos, Agrupaciones Ciudadanas y Pueblos Indígenas.

En el acto desarrollado durante toda la mañana en el hotel Glorieta, participaron unos seis representantes de partidos políticos y agrupaciones ciudadanas, autoridades invitadas y medios de comunicación.

"Se busca la transparencia del manejo de recursos de los partidos y/o agrupaciones, lo que permitirá a cualquier persona pueda acceder al Internet y ver cómo se están gastando sus recursos", argumentó Celma Quiroga al agregar que así la población conocerá el destino del dinero que entrega el Estado a través del Tesoro General de la Nación. Para el efecto, arribaron a Sucre representantes y técnicos de la CNE, además de un experto de USAID, que hizo la presentación y la explicación de la implementación y diseño del sistema.

"Bolívia es el primer país en Latinoamérica que está utilizando ya este sistema", finalizó Quiroga.

Dar
de l
reci
Bs 5
Sucre,

La
minó
bolivi
desas
Padill
una fi
El
Ramí
semb
encar
inmec
cados
pasad
autori
semb
del Fe
para l
tor de
bien
por el
Pe
de F
Salaz
ademu
Muníc
repres
través
tos a l
Defen
y al p
el pr
otorga
campi
que na

APPENDIX B
Winning with Women:
Phase Three Schedule of Trainings

Department	Workshop Dates	Number of participants
La Paz	March 12	80
Sucre	March 29	58
Oruro	April 1	70
Santa Cruz	April 2	49
Potosí	May 5	80
Pando	May 12	20
Bení	May 17	15
Cochabamba	May 20	62
Tarija	To Be Determined	
TOTAL	8	434

APPENDIX C
Win with Women Initiative
Global Action Plan Text and Bolivian signatories

As political party leaders, we are committed to vibrant democratic development and to strong political parties. We believe that the meaningful inclusion of women is critical to achieving these goals. Accordingly, we affirm the need for political parties to become more inclusive, transparent and representative by expanding political opportunities and leadership roles for women. Political parties are unique organizations that aggregate popular interests and seek government office to promote policies that address those interests. They are also crucial training grounds for future government leaders and represent critical avenues for advancing equal rights and opportunities for women in society.

Many political parties today are undertaking needed reform efforts to address growing challenges, including public apathy, credibility questions and relevance to people's concerns. Women's political participation is critical to these advancements. Some political parties are working diligently to increase the role of women as voters, party leaders, activists and candidates for elective office. We salute those party leaders who support us; their leadership is key to the success of this effort. Globally, however, equality continues to be a distant goal. In many countries and parties, women remain largely excluded from decision-making. In some countries, women are denied the right to vote and stand for election. While women comprise over 50 percent of the world's population, they constitute only 15 percent of the positions in national governments.

As political party leaders, we are determined to work within our parties to address barriers that discourage women's full political participation. We are also committed to establish a global political culture supportive of our efforts, through partnerships with civil society and work with the media. Our parties must continue and accelerate efforts underway to reach out to women voters; recruit and train women as political party leaders, activists and candidates; provide resources to women candidates; and ensure that female and male candidates are treated equally. Political parties must also educate citizens regarding the importance of equality between men and women in the public sphere.

At the same time, increased women's participation also plays a key role in efforts to fight corruption and increase political stability in society, as well as enhance the credibility and continuity of political parties. We also believe that women's participation will strengthen the accountability, transparency and integrity of political parties. Recent studies show that corruption decreases as the number of women participating in politics and society increases. The more women participate in political life-as voters, political party leaders or government officials-the more public policy reflects women's concerns and perspectives.

We support three crucial documents that set an international standard for defining equality between women and men, and advocating equal treatment in political and public life: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the UN Beijing Platform for Action and UN Security Council Resolution 1325. As we unite to discuss removing barriers to full participation, we will focus on the following themes:

1. Removing restrictions on women's political participation, including restrictions on women's suffrage and candidacy.
 - Repeal all restrictions that do not apply equally to women and men with regard to voting or standing for elections, unless they are temporary measures that promote women's enhanced political participation.
 - Establish a policy of zero tolerance of all forms of political violence, especially violence and harassment against women voters, candidates and party activists.
 - Ensure the physical safety of women party activists, candidates and elected officials by creating safe havens where female politicians and their families can retreat if threatened.
 - Create mechanisms that support and protect women once they gain political visibility or office. Provide women with training in how to respond to personal attacks in the media and/or attacks on family members. Develop networks to assist with rapid responses to such incidents.
2. Increasing the number of women elected officials at the national, provincial and local levels.
 - Incorporate the promotion of women candidates into the official policy of political parties. Encourage women to compete for office at the national, regional and local levels by creating strategic plans to recruit, train and support women candidates.
 - Recruit women candidates to run for public office in urban and rural locations.
 - Consider appropriate mechanisms to elevate women candidates and elected officials, including placing women high on party lists and running candidates in winnable districts. Quotas, in certain circumstances, can play an important role, particularly where women are virtually shut out of the political system.
 - Commit meaningful financial support to women candidates. Female and male candidates who are similarly situated regarding their potential for election should be furnished with equal access to party resources.
 - Provide specialized campaign skills training targeted at women's needs including policy development, debating techniques, networking, advocacy, public speaking, leadership, media, grassroots organizing, strategic planning, confidence building and fundraising. Include training on message and media that helps women appear confident, clear and well-prepared.
 - Maintain a database of women qualified for elected and appointed political positions.

- Assist women candidates with developing skills in traditionally male dominated areas, such as budgeting and foreign affairs, so that they are equipped to deal with all policy matters.
 - Establish mentoring programs that allow senior-level, national and international role models for women aspirants, candidates and newly elected officials. Encourage women and men to mentor emerging women leaders particularly on the issue of promoting women's representation both inside and outside the party.
 - Recognize windows of opportunity for increasing women's representation in such areas as political transitions, peace processes, electoral reform processes, etc. Women leaders should take advantage of these opportunities to promote reform.
 - Where possible, use international instruments and conventions as tools to build domestic support for increasing women's representation and participation.
 - Build strong relations with civil society organizations to support advocacy campaigns that promote women's representation.
 - Educate journalists on the importance of women in politics and governance.
 - Support women candidates in their search for non-traditional and creative methods of communication in situations where they are confronted with structural obstacles to media access, such as state-owned media outlets.
 - Support the efforts of women candidates to seek training outside of parties and to identify organizations that share their values and can assist them in the delivery of their message.
3. Ensuring that political parties include women in meaningful leadership positions and in meaningful numbers.
- Ensure that women are represented in a meaningful manner in internal party decision-making bodies and party leadership positions.
 - Develop advocacy plans that promote a critical mass of at least 30 percent for women's representation in political parties. Ensure that women are listed in winnable positions on candidate lists and that they are represented in leadership positions and on decision-making bodies of parties.
 - Address gender issues in party platforms and manifestos. Work with party leaders-both men and women-to discuss issues that connect to the concerns and priorities of women voters.
 - Educate party membership on the importance of including women in positions of political leadership.

- Establish an equal opportunity committee (a monitoring and implementation body) that verifies that party bylaws addressing equality between men and women are observed. Men and women should serve on the committee in roughly equal percentages.
 - Consider internal quotas, for a specific and agreed upon timeframe, to increase women's participation at all levels of the party.
 - Adopt democratic and transparent rules in party constitutions and bylaws and ensure their implementation. Promote transparency in the candidate selection process to establish clear and understandable selection criteria.
 - Provide training and financial support to women's party branches, wings or commissions, which should serve as forums for women to contribute substantively to party policy and procedure, party leadership selection and candidate selection. They should also offer opportunities to discuss issues of concern, mentor, network, and build critical policymaking and advocacy skills for women rather than act as token women's representation in the party.
 - Analyze electoral systems and legislation to understand their impact on women's political participation. Develop plans to address barriers identified through constitutional, legislative and regulatory reform.
 - Work to increase women's political credibility and viability by encouraging partnerships between women party members and party leaders.
 - Intensify voter outreach to women by using the party platform to develop messages for and about women. Develop an information bank in party headquarters to store material about women's voter outreach initiatives.
 - Encourage the Party Internationals to implement strategies that urge member parties to increase the number of women party activists, candidates and elected officials.
 - Assist women party members, candidates and elected officials with creating access to traditional media sources such as radio, print and television. Facilitate relationships between women politicians and reporters, especially women reporters.
 - Take advantage of the popular perception that women are honest, direct and caring, when crafting messages for the media and selecting the party's spokesperson.
 - Use technology, within parties and government, to meet the needs of women and inform them of government policies and programs.
4. Encouraging greater participation of women in government decision-making and advocating for legislation that enshrines the full equality of women and men.

- Advocate for the appointment of more wo-men to cabinet-level positions and other high government offices. Identify women with policy expertise for high-level government positions and encourage them to develop relationships with both men and women in support of their potential appointments.
- Promote women within leadership structures in government.
- Create incentives for women to seek positions in government service, and promote women within the leadership structures of civil service, ministries and government agencies.
- Form women's caucuses in legislative bodies to work on issues and in coalitions across party lines.
- Promote legislation enshrining the full equality of women, including prohibiting discrimination against women in hiring and promotion within government service.
- Establish, strengthen and fund a women's office in each department, ministry or agency to develop action plans and legislative proposals that consider women's needs. Develop and employ national budgeting mechanisms that ensure government agencies are adequately funded to promote and address initiatives focused on women.
- Track and disseminate data on women's participation in public office on the national, provincial and local levels (e.g., through report cards on the number of women in government office). Assign a government agency or department to maintain the information and take action annually to improve the statistics. Governments should also be responsive to independent assessments by nongovernmental organizations on this issue.
- Diversify portfolios of women ministers so that they are not limited to social issues.
- Develop training programs, including leadership skills training, to prepare women to fulfill their roles as government representatives.
- Educate citizens about the importance of women in government service through the media and other civic education tools.
- Create legislation to provide for child care, elder care, family care and other policies that support women working in government agencies.
- Partner with non-governmental organizations to educate women leaders and build coalitions for legislative initiatives.
- Create mechanisms in government to measure and address the "digital divide" between men and women.

As political party leaders, we commit to continue our advocacy for increased women's participation and to work with other party leaders-both men and women-to ensure that our parties do everything possible to break down barriers to women's participation.

Bolivian GAP Signatories

Political Parties

Nationalist Democratic Action (*Acción Democrática Nacionalista*, ADN)
Leftist Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*, MIR)
Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*, MNR)
Movement Without Fear (*Movimiento Sin Miedo*, MSM)
Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata Cristiana*, PDC)
Civic Solidarity Union (*Unidad Cívica Solidaridad*, UCS)
National Unity (*Unidad Nacional*, UN)
Plan Progress (*Plan Progreso*, PP)

Civil Society Organizations

Association of Bolivian Councilwomen (*Asociación de Concejalas de Bolivia*, ACOBOL)
National Political Forum of Women (*Foro Político Nacional de Mujeres*)
Coordinator of Women (*Coordinadora de la Mujer*)